3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

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A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131] THIS paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period had already been given. Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be.

[221] [785] The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the school. One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people [574] of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. Mrs. Brengle reported that it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance.

881 252 [415] [42] The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways —roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing [846] mother to produce milk.

[262] [222] In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The coarse would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was poured on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then

PREFACE

This paper is the result of two and one-half months' field work among the Washo Indians of California and Nevada supported by the Department of Anthropology of the University of California and the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. In it I have tried to describe the religious beliefs and ritual activities of the Washo as they can be examined today. Where possible I have attempted to reconstruct the aboriginal patterns and trace the course of change between these two points in time.

A second purpose has been to supplement the culture element distribution lists prepared by Omer C. Stewart in 1936 (Stewart 1941). In a number of instances his findings were at variance with those of Smith, whose notes Stewart incorporated; I have been able to resolve some of the differences between Stewart and Smith. Where my own research has led me to disagree with the statements in the culture element distributions I have discussed the problem. In general my own work simply expands the rather sparse descriptions of the element lists (Stewart 1941, pp. 366-418). The culture element distribution list numbers which refer to traits dealt with in the various sections are indicated in parentheses following the headings. Where a trait or complex is dealt with in detail it is indicated by parentheses in the text. Statements not otherwise attributed are the result of my own field work.

I am indebted to Mr. W. L. d'Azevedo, who encouraged me to carry on field work among the Washo and who has made his own field notes and knowledge available to me. I have indicated information attributable to d'Azevedo by placing his name in parentheses in the text; where his name appears with a date, the reference is to a work published by him.

I also wish to express my thanks for the suggestions made by J. H. Rowe, R. F. Millon, and D. M. Schneider, who read this article before it went to press, and to acknowledge the final reading given the manuscript by the late A. L. Kroeber.

In addition, my thanks are owed to Mr. Frank Yapparagari, Mrs. Juanita Schubert, and Mrs. Lois Buck of Gardnerville and Minden, Nevada, to Mr. Richard Shulter of the Nevada State Museum in Carson City, Nevada, and to Mrs. E. M. Keenan of Paradise, California, who assisted in various ways in the progress of the investigation. Last, to the various members of the Washo tribe, who with patience and good humor bore the probing into their lives, my deepest gratitude.

James F. Downs

[Introductory, P. iii]

[P. 365, B]

4:Downs E-6 (no date) 1981 MT20 Washo MT20

WASHO RELIGION

BY

JAMES F. DOWNS

INTRODUCTION

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the withering rationalism of civilization the religion of the Washo has simply altered and expanded to serve the Washo in new situations.

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In this work I take the broadest possible definition of religion, conceiving it as any institutionalized activity or attitude which reflects the Washo view of the cosmos. In so doing I have included a number of categories which may not generally be considered suitable for inclusion under the heading of religion. Stewart, for instance, includes shamanism, curing, special powers of shamans, miscellaneous shamanistic information, guardian spirits, destiny of the soul, ghosts or soul, and jimsonweed. My own work includes some of these specifically, incorporates some under other headings, and treats a number of subjects not included in the list given above.

The reason for this approach is practical rather than theoretical or philosophical. As anthropological definitions of religions are extremely varied and the activities described as religious under various definitions cover a greater or narrower range, it seems valuable to include as many activities as possible in a purely descriptive work.

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The goal of this paper is to make as much information as possible about the religious and ritual activities of the Washo available to scholars who may be interested in religion. The inclusion of as many fields of activity as possible permits them to select information which they feel pertinent to their interests.

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Wherever possible I have tried to include direct quotations from informants as well as information about their behavior and attitudes, so that my own interpretations and conclusions can be examined by others in light of the information on which they are based.

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Statements made by informants are indicated by quotation marks. I did not have a recording device available and did not attempt to record entire interviews verbatim. However, whenever informants indicated that they considered their statements important I took them down word for word. If I felt some passing remark to have significance, I asked the informant to repeat it and often read it back to him for verification. Other stories, particularly those of a mythological nature, or semilegends, or experiences which were important to individual informants, were repeated voluntarily on almost every occasion of our meeting. Whenever statements are presented in quotation marks the material was gathered in this manner.

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This paper contains material from a number of sources. Statements of fact or interpretations taken from published anthropological or historic works are indicated by citations in the customary manner. Information based on conversations or other private communications with other investigators is so designated. All statements of fact which are not credited to these two sources are taken from my own field notes and represent statements of my informants.

[P.368, B]

973 Modern Washo seem less willing than their forebears to weave Coyote into tales but are no less conscious of his malevolent presence. Peyotists often see visions or dream of Coyote (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), and quick asides about Coyote's influence are apt to come up in conversation either as tentative jokes or in seriousness. One tale of a modern occurrence involving Coyote did come my way through the kindness of Warren d'Azevedo. His informant was the brother-in-law of my own informant and, like his kinsman, a seemingly mystic, very conscious of his Indianness and credited by other Washo with powers beyond those of an ordinary man in hunting.

[795] [787] [521] 539 [115] [756]

> "I was staying in this shack with the guy who owned it. One night he didn't come home but I kept hearing something walking around that shack. The next morning when that guy came home he was all tired out and there was Coyote tracks all around that shack. I got my gun and told that guy to stay away from me" (d'Azevedo).

773 The Ag, a huge man-eating bird described in Lowie's myth number 13, is no longer alive, but according to several informants the creature's bones or at least the island on which it nested can be seen by people flying over the lake because they are only a bit below the surface. Washo insist that white airplane pilots see the shape of the island daily but keep silent because they don't want to confirm an Indian story. One day on a trip around Lake Tahoe my Indian companion, a sometime leader among the Washo asked: "If we get that money from our claim do you think one of them archeologist fellas could go down under the water and find that there ag bird's skeleton?"

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773 178 The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the tenacity with which Washo mythology has maintained itself among these people. The entirety of many of the myths is no longer part of the repertoire of every adult Washo, but variations, on-the-spot reconstructions, and the introduction of mythological themes into contemporary stories of a secular nature are definitely part of the oral literature of the Washo.

It is interesting to note that some aspects of Washo mythology appear to have more viability than others. Thus the Water Baby remains an important and vital aspect of modern Washo life, as does the Coyote. The twin weasels have lost much of their appeal, as has the giant Hangwawiwi. The giants of the mountains are acknowledged to be alive today but are seldom referred to, whereas Coyote and Water Baby are almost always mentioned and spoken of as living entities even by the most progressive Washo.

771 [782] [182] [121] Except for the making of offerings to nature, which may be defined as purely religious, other religious or ritual activities dealing with what we would call the supernatural are so integrated with other aspects of Washo life as to be almost inseparable. Thus in describing the religious activities of the Washo I will proceed through various phases of their life, pointing out the ritual actions which are part of Washo behavior in specific situations.

7:Freed E-6 (1868-1967)1960 NT30 Washo NT30

[P.349, A]

CHANGING WASHO KINSHIP

BY

STANLEY A. FREED

INTRODUCTION

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This paper presents a study of Washo social organization and of the changes which have occurred within it since the end of the aboriginal period. It is particularly concerned with discovering the causes of a number of alternate kinship terms which together appear to constitute a new, emerging system of kinship terminology. The hypothesis here advanced to account for the alternate kinship terms is that changes occurring outside of social organization can affect the terminological system without first modifying elements of formal social structure, such as residence rules or rules of descent. This hypothesis is based on the assumptions that kinship terminology is closely correlated with patterned norms of behavior, or roles, and that these roles may vary considerably within the limits set by a given kind of social organization. Cultural changes can therefore cause terminological change by altering role behavior without affecting the formal social structure.

In order to test the assumption of a close correlation of role behavior and kinship terminology, I have devised a technique, called the role profile test, which yields an objective description of role behavior. The data from the role profile test show that Washo role behavior agrees closely with the emerging system of kinship terminology. The close correlation of role behavior and terminological system and the occurrence of changes in the Washo system of kinship terminology despite a relatively stable social structure support the hypothesis that roles may vary markedly within the limits set by a given type of social structure, the variation being due to causes which lie outside of social organization.

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The study is based on six months of field work among the Washo living in Carson City and Dresslerville, Nevada, and Woodfords and Markleeville, California. Four trips were made: during the first two,

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7:Freed E-8 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P. 350, A]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

This chapter is a brief summary of what is known of aboriginal Washo culture, except for social organization, together with the principal changes it has undergone since the coming of the whites. The most significant characteristic of Washo acculturation from the point of view of this study has been the progressive individualization of the society. This can be seen most clearly in their economic life, where the old, cooperative methods of earning a livelihood have given way to individual wage work. The trend toward individualism has also affected ceremonial. The major ceremony of the year, the pine-nut dance, has been given up; and curing is less a group affair than it once was, with the exception of the peyotists, who constitute approximately ten per cent of the tribal membership. Warfare, another activity requiring group cooperation, was abandoned shortly after the coming of the whites. The effects upon social organization of this trend toward individualism will be traced in the following chapters.

INFORMANTS

The sketch of Washo culture which follows is based primarily upon the sources listed below and upon data which I gathered directly in the field. My principal informants were the following: Nancy Emm, Clara Frank, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete, all of Dresslerville, Nevada; Roy James, Woodfords, California; Caesar John, Markleeville, California; and Henry Rupert, Carson City, Nevada.

SOURCES

Ethnographic accounts of the Washo are few. The principal ones are by Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), and Lowie (1939). Stewart (1944) and Siskin (MS) have contributed two excellent studies of Washo peyotism, and Kroeber (1907) has published a brief sketch of the Washo language, which contains a list of kinship terms. Other major sources are Dangberg's (1927) collection of myths, Kroeber's (1925) brief summary of the then available data on Washo culture, Stewart's (1941) list of cultural elements, and Heizer and Elsasser's (1953) study of the archaeology of the central Sierra Nevada.

LOCATION

The Washo Indians are a small, isolated group who speak a language tentatively placed in the Hokan stock (Sapir, 1929, p. 139). In aboriginal times they occupied the extreme western edge of Nevada and eastern California. The eastern part of their territory lay in the Great Basin and the western part in the Sierra Nevada. Aboriginal Washo territory extended from Honey Lake in the north to Sonora Pass in the south. The eastern boundary ran from Sonora Pass northward along the crest of the Pine Nut Mountains; it then turned west

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[P 363, A]

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III. ALTERNATE TERMS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR

This chapter is devoted to determining the causes of the emerging system of kinship terminology. Before we proceed to the explanation which seems to account for the Washo data most satisfactorily, three other explanations will be considered. The first is that the alternate terms are due to a process which Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.) call loan translation, that is, the old Washo terms are adapted to the English kinship system. This explanation deserves attention because the alternate Washo terminological usages form a lineal type of kinship terminology resembling the English kinship system.

The case for loan translation is strongest in the parental generation because the two separate terms for father's brother and mother's brother have been reduced to a single term which may be equated with the English term "uncle." But the terms for aunts have not undergone a similar merging, and it is fair to ask why loan translation should be restricted to uncles.

The use of loan translation as an adequate explanation encounters further difficulties with regard to the alternate cousin and nephew-niece terms. The process of loan translation should result in a single Washo term being used for cousins; instead, the Washo use four distinct terms. Furthermore, one of the informants who uses alternate cousin terms speaks no English and another speaks only a few words. These informants could not be directly affected by the English terminological system. In the first descending generation, the process of loan translation should alter the Washo terminology so that a single term is applied to nephews and another to nieces. But this has not happened; in the emerging terminology, all siblings' children are lumped under a single term, thereby ignoring the sex distinction between nephews and nieces. It seems clear that loan translations do not in themselves adequately account for alternate Washo terminological usages.

This is not to say that the Washos' knowledge of the American kinship system has no effect on Washo kinship terminology. It may be one of several causes of the alternate terms. But the new Washo terminology is not due solely to loan translation, for the new terms do not agree closely enough with the English system. I found only one clear case of loan translation: one informant called his nephews by one term and his nieces by another. This usage agrees exactly with the English system of terminology, a circumstance one might reasonably demand before using loan translation as an explanation of terminological change.

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A second possible explanation is that the alternate terms arise from unusual circumstances whereby a relative assumes a role ordinarily played by another relative and is therefore called by the kinship term appropriate for the assumed role instead of by the term ascribed by his genealogical position. I found only one case of this kind among the Washo: a woman called a cousin by the term "older sister" instead of the genealogically correct term "younger sister" because they were raised in the same house and her cousin was actually ten years older than she. The age

PREFACE

With the inception of the Ethnological Group Building Program in 1910, of the Milwaukee Public Museum, plans were made to represent in this graphic form each of the great culture areas of North America. One of these was that of the "Great Basin," that vast semi-desert, plateau lying between the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky Mountain Range. [121]

The Paviotso branch of the Paiute were chosen as typical representatives of this cultural group. Work was concentrated in the western portion of this area where at that time (1915) there was surviving a better representation of that culture than could be found elsewhere.

Publications were in those days much fewer than we have now. There were, in fact, only a few trained workers in the anthropological field. Consequently, to get reliable data and information in sufficiently detailed form to permit accurate reproduction of a culture in group form, it was necessary that one go into the field and make his own personal observations, sketches and photographs. This required a thorough canvass of the culture area involved, which took months. At the end of this period, when the ethnographer had in hand all possible information needed to reconstruct the old life in the area, the chief artist was sent for. The two, together, spent a final month in the field building a scale model of the life-sized group -- also of any special dioramas or other exhibits needed as auxiliaries -- to be finally built in the Museum.

This rather extensive field procedure often furnished interesting special contacts. In 1915 one of these was my hasty contact with the Washo Indians in the region of Lake Tahoe. [114]

These, it must be remembered, were the days when automobiles were a rarity: the real old "horse and buggy days." Now the whole shore of Lake Tahoe is built up with resorts, hotels, motels and beautiful summer homes. Now you spin along in your car at any rate you please on the perfect highways and freeways. The beautiful surface of the lake itself is cut in every direction by the wakes of many motor boats. In 1915 I could walk mi'es at a stretch without meeting a soul, especially on the south shore, as I followed [illegible] directions in trying to find some distant camp of a Washo family. When I finally arrived I would find some patriarch patiently chipping arrowheads or making a bow preparatory to going on a hunt for deer in the adjacent forest. We did not have to listen to tales of the olden times then. We had these "olden" times spread out before us for inspection. One can only regret that we had not more time to see all these things or that there were so few trained ethnologists to observe things.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT28 Washo NT28

[2] We are now most fortunate to have more workers to study the survivals of cultures and to publish the results of their labors. The several papers and analyses here presented are, we hope, only the beginning of more extensive publications on the Washo and on other tribes in this Great Basin area, one of the most interesting regions left in America.

S. A. Barrett
University of California
Berkeley, California
May 18, 1962

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION[1*]

by Stanley A. Freed

The reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure presented here is based upon the publications of earlier investigators and upon data that my wife and I collected in the course of about six months' field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956 and the winter of 1956-57. The major sources on aboriginal Washo social organization are: Barrett (1917), Curtis (1924), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (1941). Our field data consist principally of interviews with 70 informants who ranged in age from 10 to over 80. Genealogical data, kinship terminology, census material, and brief life histories were collected from all informants. The testimony of our older informants regarding aboriginal conditions and the earlier published reports almost always agree, and thereby make possible a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social organization that is probably relatively sound. The changes in Washo social structure since aboriginal times will be mentioned here, but a discussion of the probable causes of these changes has been omitted because such an analysis has appeared in an earlier paper (Freed, 1960).

In addition to a description of kinship terminology, residence rules, marriage patterns and other customary categories of analysis of social organization, this paper will attempt to describe role behavior among kinsmen in aboriginal times. This description is based on data from role profile tests taken by 47 Washo in the winter of 1952-57, and therefore pertains to modern role behavior (Freed, 1960, 365-78). The degree to which these patterns of modern role behavior resemble those of aboriginal times cannot be determined with any certainty because the published sources contain virtually no information on role behavior; also, attempts to elicit statements of aboriginal role behavior from elderly informants were unproductive. However, it is possible to make a tentative estimate of the degree to which modern and aboriginal role behavior resemble each other on the basis of a general appraisal of Washo acculturation. The Washo are still a recognizable group; they speak their own language; and, in modified form, they practice a number of aboriginal culture patterns (Freed, 1960). For these reasons we can assume that role behavior among the modern Washo gives some indication of aboriginal role behavior.

Kinship Terminology

The kinship terminology of the aboriginal Washo may be established with relative confidence because the terminologies collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) not only agree closely with each other but also with

*Notes are at ends of papers.

questions as has been done above. The former kind of analysis facilitates comparisons of all roles on any question. This comparison is given in Freed (1960, 369-70) and reveals several interesting features of Washo social organization. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly shown, especially the father, mother, son and daughter relationships. Second, men cooperate with men and women with women. Third, although authority in the society rests in the older people, father's siblings have little authority over brother's daughters and mother's brother has little over sister's son. Fourth, the principal hostile relatives for both men and women are older women: father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Fifth, both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives seem to have equal importance in Washo social organization.

This paper has presented a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure and has noted the changes that have taken place since pre-white times. The descriptions of role behavior are based upon data from the modern Washo, but are thought to give some suggestion of aboriginal Washo role behavior because the Washo have retained their group identity and practice, in modified form, a number of aboriginal culture patterns.

Notes

1. The field work upon which this paper is based was supported by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom my thanks are due. Unless noted otherwise, Washo words are written in a phonemic system devised for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

THE PERSISTENCE OF ABORIGINAL CEREMONIES AMONG THE WASHO INDIANS[1]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

In the 1950's the Washo were observing, in modified form, five of their six aboriginal ceremonies. These were the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty, death, the shaman's curing rite and the annual pinenut dance. The dance and ceremonies before a war party set out and after its return apparently disappeared shortly after the beginning of permanent white settlement due to the suppression of warfare by whites.[2] Of the five surviving ceremonies, three were rites of passage regularly observed whenever circumstances made them appropriate: the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty and death. These three ceremonies give every indication of surviving for the foreseeable future. The other two ceremonies, the pinenut dance and the shaman's curing rite, appear to be on the verge of extinction. The annual pinenut dance had already essentially disappeared by 1952, and the shaman's curing rite probably will have disappeared by the early 1960's. This paper will describe the five ceremonies that have survived into the 1950's and will discuss possible reasons why three seem capable of survival while two are on the point of disappearance.

The descriptions of aboriginal Washo ceremonies are reconstructions based on the testimony of our informants and on earlier published reports. Hank Pete claimed he was born in 1882; Bertha Holbrook said her year of birth was 1885. Nancy Emm did not give her age but she appeared to be as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 as the end of the aboriginal period in the region; the first permanent white settlement was in 1851. This means that when our informants were children some Washo were still living who were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture. Hank Pete's grandmother was alive when he was a boy, and he apparently learned a good deal from her. The most useful sources on aboriginal Washo ceremonies are Curtis (1924), Lowie (1939), and Stewart (1941). Cartwright (1955) has described a modern girl's puberty dance. Freed and Freed (1963) have described the shaman's curing rite.

The Washo may have had an annual mourning ceremony but the evidence for its existence is scanty. Barrett (1917, 9) states "... there is an annual mourning ceremony, or 'cry,' accompanied by a big feast." He gives no further details. Curtis (1924, 97) reports "Annually there was a memorial ceremony which appears to have closely paralleled the California rite. Objects were burned while the people wailed, and a feast was provided by the chief. Effigies of the lamented dead are said to have been burned, as in

[1] [footnotes appear on p. 39 -- Analyst]

A CONFIGURATION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO CULTURE[1]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

Beliefs in supernatural power (wegelέyu) and in ghosts are two elements that occur in several patterns of aboriginal Washo culture. These two beliefs are prominent in culture patterns concerned with the etiology and cure of diseases; they also occur in war, social control, funerals, child rearing and hunting. Ghosts and supernatural power are usually associated with the psychological condition of fear. Because these culture elements are widely distributed among the patterns of Washo culture, they function as a unifying or integrating force. Such relationships among culture patterns arising from the presence of common elements Nadel calls "logical consistency" (Nadel, 1951, 258-65).

If a cultural configuration is defined as a statement of a cultural regularity, usually with accompanying psychological states taken into account, which serves to integrate many of the culture patterns of a society, then fear of supernatural power and ghosts is a configuration of Washo culture. Because the individual Washo can manipulate power, and to some extent ghosts, for either good or evil, the fear of supernatural power and ghosts is often a fear of people who are known to have, or suspected of having, power; therefore, the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, is often equivalent to a fear of people.

This paper will describe the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts in Washo culture; it will analyze the functions of these two elements in all culture patterns where they occur, thereby showing that they give logical consistency to Washo culture; and it will indicate how recognition of the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, helps to explain features of Washo behavior the reasons for which are not otherwise easily perceived.

The Washo culture here described is a reconstruction of aboriginal conditions. It is based primarily upon the statements of elderly people whom we consider reliable informants. Their testimony is usually internally consistent; they generally agree with each other, and their descriptions of Washo culture patterns closely resemble those of neighboring tribes which are also thought to be aboriginal (see especially Park, 1938, and Whiting, 1950). Bertha Holbrook and Henry Rupert claim to have been born in 1885 and Hank Pete in 1882; Nancy Emm did not give her age but looked as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 to mark the end of the aboriginal period in the region. This means that when Emm, Holbrook, Rupert, and Pete were children, some Washo who were still living were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture.

1 [footnote appears on p. 54 -- Analyst]

WASHO WITCHCRAFT: A TEST OF THE FRUSTRATION-AGGRESSION HYPOTHESIS[1]

by Philip E. Leis

754 154 121

The belief in witchcraft has frequently been interpreted psychologically as a socially approved means for releasing aggressions. The very nature of group life requires that individual desires be restrained -- "frustrated," and the aggressive responses toward the frustrating objects, such as parents, redirected to a sorcerer or some other scapegoat-like being. Whether individuals actually indulge in witchcraft is beside the point; the fact that members of a society believe in its existence is sufficient for them to vent their spleen against the real or imaginary sorcerers. The relation between frustration and aggression was stated as a hypothesis by Dollard and his associates (1939, 1) as follows: "The occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrawise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some forms of aggression." This statement was later modified by one of its authors, who recognized that there were several different types of responses to frustration (Miller, 1941, 338), but the point with which we are primarily concerned here is that aggression may be a response to frustration and this reaction may be in the form of beliefs in witchcraft. [114]

754 154 171 121

Several studies have supported this view. Kluckhohn's analysis of the Navajo indicated the "adjustive" value of their beliefs in witchcraft for maintaining the integration and stability of the community. Prior to governmental controls, the Navajo were able to release their aggressions through warfare, but with this activity blocked, Kluckhohn found that the incidence of witchcraft accusation had increased; his entire thesis pointed to the significance of such beliefs for disposing of the personal and socially disruptive effects of aggression (1944). The Saulteaux and the Ifaluk, studied by Hallowell (1955) and Spiro (1950), respectively, displayed very little overt aggression in their social relations; yet, there were frustrating experiences in childhood and these were reflected in the covert release of aggressions through hatred and fear of supernatural forces. The early socialization of the Hopi, according to Eggan (1950) and Goldfrank (1945), was one in which frustrations were kept at a minimum, but in later childhood frustrating situations occurred frequently. Accordingly, aggressive behavior patterns of adult life were apparent in the constant Hopi "guerilla warfare" (Eggan, 1950, 234) of gossip and witchcraft accusations against neighbors.

154 171 121

These examples agree on two points. First, every society, so far as we know, places certain regulations or restrictions on the individual, particularly at some time during childhood, which can be called frustrating. Second,

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

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171 the consequence of such restrictions is to create aggressive tendencies that must be canalized in some culturally approved manner so that psychological and intrasocietal conflicts are minimized.

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154 Nadel takes issue with the latter point. He argues that it is a false
171 assumption "that witchcraft beliefs 'canalize' hostility or 'deflect' hostile
121 impulses into socially relatively harmless channels" (1952, 28). Presenting
114 evidence from four societies in Africa, he points out that belief in sorcerers is "conspicuously related to specific anxieties," (1952, 28) and therefore it only accentuates concrete hostilities. Though Kluckhohn, for one, would probably not have denied the "costs" of witchcraft, he did feel these were frequently stated without recognizing the potential euphoric effects of beliefs in witchcraft for the social system as a whole (1944, 67-8).

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174 The Washo provided an opportunity for an exploration of this differ-
154 ence in opinion. Since the Washo belief in the prevalence of witches changed drastically over a period of approximately 15 years, we were able to ask the
[178] question of whether the elimination of witches as objects of aggression would help solidify the society, as Nadel suggested, or would create a need for new opportunities for releasing aggressions.

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871 In addition to addressing ourselves to the function of witchcraft in
754 Washo society, we were also concerned with education, the intervening variable between frustration and the acceptable objects of aggression. Of course,
154 members of a society do not usually consciously employ the educational process for this purpose, and the presence of sorcerers rather than some other kind of scapegoat can only be accounted for by particular historical developments in Washo culture, but the transmission of knowledge about certain phenomena will obviously affect the possibility of their being manipulated as objects of aggression.

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756 The Washo were a fairly typical Great Basin group, according to Edgar Siskin, who visited them in the late 1930's, except for their fear of and belief in the power of shamans, which he thought achieved "an unsurpassed eminence in the Washo" (1941, 125). Lowie, after briefly visiting the Washo in 1927, observed that a correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic was prevalent in their world-view, and he relates several instances in which shamans
[683] were supposed to have been responsible for deaths. When this would happen four or five men would finally agree to murder the shaman. One of Lowie's informants believed one of the shamans, or Indian doctors, as the Washo call them, to have been "mad." "He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

Frustrations did not begin until later

childhood when boys and girls found their omnipotent parents subjected to a dominant white population (Eggan, 1950, 231), and when they began to recognize the difficulties of obtaining a subsistence living in their extremely harsh natural environment.

It is of interest that just as frustrations were not imposed until later childhood, so knowledge and fear of shamans was acquired comparatively late, between the ages of five and 10. Mead has suggested in her work that the anxiety of a mother over sorcery can be transmitted to an infant (1942, 57), and the same was probably true for the Washo; but in terms of directed learning, the adults were careful not to begin to instruct children at too early an age on this matter. Parents mentioned animals when trying to frighten young children into obedience, but sorcerers were never referred to for this purpose. The reason given by one elderly man for waiting so long to tell them that so-called "bad" Indian doctors were the cause of sickness and death was that children were particularly susceptible to being witched. If they were threatened or even told about the power of the shamans, the parents might be overheard by one of the shamans who would then actually make the child ill to accommodate, or spite, the adults.

In discussing the Washo of the 1930's, we have been concerned with their beliefs in witchcraft, the child rearing patterns that were characterized by first permissive and then restraining practices, and the education of the children regarding witchcraft. Each of these had changed by the time of our study in 1956.

From my observations and the opinions of my elderly informants, the child rearing practices had become more severe than those described over a decade earlier in the literature. The ideal pattern of attending to the baby's needs immediately was no longer adhered to in practice. Babies were left to scream in their baskets for long periods of time before their mothers attended to them. Toilet training often began before the child was a year old. With mothers going off to work during the day in the neighboring white community, younger children were often put in the care of older siblings who resented this encroachment on their freedom and therefore ignored their charges as much as possible. In the past, parents "spoke" to their offspring because they did not think an infant was responsible for any of his misdeeds, and also because talking frequently obtained the desired response. This changed to frequent employment of corporal punishment. The social and natural environment, which the Dresslerville Washo in particular faced, remained a difficult one, and the frustrations incurred in becoming a self-supporting member of the adult community did not seem to have greatly changed since the 1930's. An independently arrived at judgment of these circumstances was made by Scotch (1957, 94-5) at approximately the same time as our study:

"Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.' . . . Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625).

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[2] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study.

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case.

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any

[2] [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

121 128 154 cultural study concerned with process, but the explicit investigation of education as an adjustive mechanism, as an instrument for replacing institutions with new ones in a situation of cultural change, still requires further attention. In the case of the Washo one of the functions of education had broken down, at least for the time being; aggressions were not being redirected toward acceptable scapegoat objects, nor were there opportunities to express them in any other way. The fear of witchcraft and antagonism toward sorcerers had not been replaced, and aggression had been internalized in a seemingly self-destructive fashion. The problem was epitomized in an answer given by a young boy when asked what he would like to be when he grew up. He replied, "An Indian" -- as in the movies. Whether the Washo can retain their cultural identity and still develop institutional outlets for their aggressions, or find some other means besides the self-defeating ones they had at the time we visited them, remains to be seen.

Notes

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128 1. An abridged version of this paper was read at the meeting of the Central States Anthropological Society, May, 1957. My thanks are due Alan P. Merriam for his helpful criticisms of an earlier draft of this paper.

154 2. Erikson has stated that if an individual cannot release his aggressions, they "can only turn inward to threaten the aggressor himself" (quoted in Kluckhohn, 1944, 51).

SOCIAL FACTORS IN HYPERTENSION AMONG THE WASHO[1]

by Norman A. and Freda L. Scotch

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Essential hypertension, accounting for 85 to 95% of all hypertension, is a disease of unknown etiology. Many factors have been studied in relation to its development, among them, 1) heredity, 2) constitution, 3) diet, and 4) social and psychological stress. It is unlikely that any single factor is wholly responsible for hypertension, and medical scholars currently view the disease from a multi-causal framework.

For at least three decades physicians have suspected a relationship between social factors and the presence or absence of hypertension, or elevated blood pressure. This suspicion has not been buttressed by substantive research, at least until recently, so that systematic research on the possible relation of social factors to the disease is highly desirable. On the other hand, cross-cultural studies of blood pressure measurements have been carried out among many societies throughout the world. Though these studies are not always strictly comparable for a variety of reasons (e.g., different criteria for hypertension, different instruments, sampling problems, etc.) they do give some indication, at least, of the distribution of blood pressure levels throughout the world. Thus one can rate societies on the basis of mean blood pressure levels. Furthermore, one can refer to actuarial studies of the normal limits of blood pressure levels in order to evaluate whether or not the mean levels are "pathologically" high; that is, whether such levels are indications of increased morbidity and mortality.

[114]

This paper reports the findings of a pilot study undertaken by the authors among the Washo Indians in the summer of 1954. The whole project was conceived as a small-scale forerunner of a later, larger study to be conducted in South Africa, the results of which have been published elsewhere (Scotch, 1960). Because of the exploratory nature of the Washo research, plus certain methodological difficulties, the findings must be interpreted with caution.

Methods

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Material for the analysis that follows comes chiefly from interviews conducted among Washo adults during which certain social data were collected (religion, employment, education, etc.). Blood pressure determinations were

TABLE I:

Mean Blood Pressures, by Age and Sex,
for Washo Indians

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Age	Males	N	Females	N
25 and below	124/79	(5)	119/78	(13)
26 - 45	137/90	(19)	122/78	(20)
46 - 65	133/89	(13)	146/88	(13)
66 and above	157/91	(8)	158/90	(9)
TOTAL	138/91	(45)	132/82	(55)

Nine variables were selected for analysis in terms of their relation to the presence or absence of hypertension. Six of the nine were associated with hypertension at, or better than, the 10% level of significance: 147 158 121

1. Age. Increasing age was associated with an increase in the percentage of elevated blood pressures.

2. Sex. Males have a higher percentage of elevated pressures than do females.

3. Obesity. Using standardized criteria the sample was divided into three groups: normal, overweight and obese. There was a significant increase in the percentage of elevated pressures from the normal to the overweight to the obese groups.

4. Education. The sample was divided into three groups: those who attended schools in the white community, those who attended boarding schools for Indians, and those who had not attended formal schools. The percentage of elevated pressures was highest in the first group and lowest in the last, the differences being statistically significant. No significant statistical association was found between blood pressure and amount of education. [271]

5. Alcoholism. Data were collected on 40 of the males as to whether they were observed by the authors to be frequently drinking or drunk, and whether or not certain key members of the community considered them to be "heavy drinkers." For purposes of analysis they were divided into two groups: [273]

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[273]
[771]

alcoholic and nonalcoholic. The alcoholics were found to have a significantly higher percentage of elevated blood pressures than the nonalcoholics.

6. Religion. Members of the sample were questioned concerning their religious affiliation and were placed into three categories: none, Christian (mostly Baptist), and Peyotists. Though there was little difference in hypertension between the Christians and those with no preference, both groups had significantly more elevated pressures than the Peyotists. Three variables did not reach the 10% level of significance.

[177]

7. Residence. Of the three Washo communities studied it was felt that Dresslerville and Carson City represented the greatest degree of acculturation to the dominant white culture, and Woodfords the least. Assuming that stress accompanies acculturation (an assumption not always warranted), we predicted that Dresslerville and Carson City would have a higher prevalence of hypertension than would Woodfords. This was in fact the case but the differences among the three communities were not statistically significant. The prevalence of elevated diastolic blood pressure was 38% in Dresslerville and 39% in Carson City, whereas it was 28% in Woodfords.

[463]

8. Occupation. Hypertension was related neither to type of occupation (ranch workers or construction workers) nor to the difference between seasonal and full time employment.

[623]

9. Involvement in Tribal Council. Past and present office holders of the Washo Tribal Council showed a tendency to have a lower percentage of elevated pressures than other Washo, but this difference did not reach a level of statistical significance.

Because it was felt that some of the associations between elevated blood pressure and selected variables might be due to relationships among variables, a correlation matrix was computed for the six significant independent variables in addition to the dependent variable, elevated blood pressure. The six variables were again found to be significantly related to blood pressure at or beyond the 10% level. Of fourteen intercorrelations, three other sets of statistically significant relationships were found: sex with age, Peyotism with alcoholism and age with school type. Since the males were found to be older than the females this difference may account for the earlier finding of a male preponderance of hypertension. The correlation between Peyotism and alcoholism is negative, and is expected, since membership in the Peyote church is supposed to preclude drinking. Finally, the correlation of age with school type (younger Washo attended the white schools, and older Washo, no school) is also expected since "integrated" schools are a relatively recent innovation in Nevada. Nonetheless, since it had already been

shown that increasing age is associated with increasing percentages of hypertension, the correlation of younger age with white schooling would tend to blur real blood pressure differences between the groups with different educational experiences. To put it another way, the finding that Washo students from white schools had more hypertension than others occurred despite the fact that these were younger Washo, whom we would normally expect to have lower pressures.

Discussion

The long standing hypothesis that stress is associated with hypertension, possibly figuring in its etiology, is supported by the data in the present study. The fact that Washo blood pressure levels are high either when compared to acceptable normal limits, or to mean levels of other societies throughout the world (for a discussion of comparisons of mean blood pressure levels of the Washo with those of a number of other groups, see Scotch, 1957, 42, 93) may be attributed under this hypothesis to the stresses to which the Washo are subject. Chief among these are poverty and the discrimination the Washo face as an extremely small minority group within the dominant white culture of Nevada. Furthermore, gainful employment is extremely difficult to get, first, because there are so few jobs available in Nevada that do not involve gambling enterprises and, secondly, because of discrimination. Further, attempts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to alleviate the economic situation by such schemes as the relocation plan had met with complete rejection at the time of the study. To our knowledge, not a single Washo had agreed to be relocated despite the many attractive features of the plan. When Washo were interviewed concerning their reluctance to relocate, their typical attitude might be expressed:

> "Things are bad enough here where we only have to associate with whites for limited periods of time, but at least we continue to live within the tribe. We maintain many of our customs, and we know and understand our neighbors. But if we agreed to move to a new city we would be torn from our land and tribe and we would have to compete with whites on the whites' home grounds. It is better to suffer from poverty in a situation we are familiar with than to take a chance to make a decent living but live in an unfamiliar situation."

With this kind of attitude is associated a rather pessimistic world view.

WASHO PREHISTORY: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH

by John A. Price

Anthropological research dealing with the Washo Indians and their aboriginal territory has produced a considerable body of descriptive data, much of it amassed in the past decade. This paper will review that portion of the data pertaining to prehistory in Washo territory.

Washo territory in the middle 1800's centered on Lake Tahoe in California and Nevada and the areas immediately to the north, east and south. Except for occasional wider ranging for gathering or trade, Washo territory extended from the south shore of Honey Lake south to Sonora Pass and the West Walker River in California. East to west their territory extended from the Pinenut Mountains in Nevada to several miles west of the main crest of the Sierra Nevada in California.

The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of climate, flora and fauna resulting from the variations in altitude which occur within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada, a great tilted block, rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 ft. in altitude and drops abruptly on its eastern slope in Nevada to around 5,000 ft. in elevation.

The Washo territory is characterized by yellow pine and fir vegetation in the highlands and by pinyon and juniper in the lowlands, ranging through Boreal, Transitional and Upper Sonoran life zones. A humid microthermal climate with 20 to 35 in. of precipitation annually obtains in the mountains while an arid cold-steppe climate is found in the low valleys. In the mountains the summers are warm with rains through July, snows starting in November, and cold weather with freezing nights until April. Snow often reaches more than 15 ft. in depth in some places in the mountains.

There are several estimates of Washo population. Fairfield (1916, 13-14) wrote that "In 1859 Major Dodge, the Indian Agent, reported that they number about 000"; Kroeber (1925, 844) estimated around 1500 for A.D. 1770; Lowie (1939, 301) wrote that "recent figures indicate approximately 300"; and Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 616) wrote that "Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates."

[for an additional note regarding the preparation of this paper, see p. 92 -- Analyst]

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

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The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127 The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [123] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and 114 interpretations throughout the paper. 1 The author worked among the Washo 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843 A pregnant woman (dawŠkaÏ?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back 513 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in 845 delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

841 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her 843 shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows 784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women [224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With [162] a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child {621} arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of her small community of from 15 to 30 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugÉiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE TO WHITE CONTACT: PAIUTE AND WASHO[1]

by James F. Downs

The purpose of this paper is to examine the marked difference in response to white contact displayed by two groups of American Indians, the Washo of western Nevada and eastern California and the Northern Paiute of western Nevada. The groups will be analyzed in a somewhat broader temporal framework than is common in acculturation studies, with historical and environmental factors as the primary considerations.

It is fruitful to view social organization on the primitive level characteristic of the Washo and Northern Paiute as a technological adaptation, i. e., a method of obtaining subsistence. On a higher level, an advanced technology may be substituted for social organization in the subsistence struggle, and social structure might then be analyzed as an adjustment to the technology. This appears to be what has happened in Nevada. Indian social structure seems closely tied to the actual ecological relationships of man to environment; the white population, on the other hand, exhibits social structural elements that are related not to the immediate environment but to the technologic and economic system the white man has brought to the area.

One of the reasons for the above suggestion is that in an examination of the Washo and Paiute situations the social structures of the two groups do not appear to be significantly different. Certainly the difference between Washo society and Paiute society was no greater than the differences among various Paiute groups (Steward, 1938, 230-60; Stewart, 1941, 406-7). If we can consider the social structural variations as constant, it may be possible to find significant differences between the two groups in an examination of their history and ecology.

The major thesis guiding the present discussion is that the differences in response of Washo and Paiute to contact are a result of their occupation of what had been two distinct ecological areas. These two groups developed different relationships with surrounding peoples and different orientations toward subsistence activity, which were observable when the white man's entry into Nevada altered the environmental situation.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-6.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

WASHO RESPONSE TO ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

by James F. Downs

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In this paper I will discuss Washo response, or more properly, lack of response, to a single aspect of white culture, animal husbandry. The data herein presented were gathered in 1959 as a continuing study of the impact of animal husbandry on human culture and society in which the Washo serve as a negative but nonetheless important example. The Washo were selected because reference to the literature and discussions with W. L. d'Azevedo suggested that the Washo response to the introduction of livestock was very different from what has come to be accepted as usual in the western part of the North America. This response appeared even more notable when compared to the reaction of the nearby Paiute and Shoshoni groups, which served as a basis for a considerable body of theoretical speculation (Steward, 1955).

By examining a negative case I hope to demonstrate at least some of the adjustments and adaptations necessary in a society, previously without animal husbandry, before animal husbandry can be successfully incorporated. I shall not attempt to explain why the Washo failed to make such adjustments except by a general reference to the arguments outlined elsewhere, which, although they suggest a reason for a difference in response between the Washo and their neighbors, do not offer explanations for the exact course of the Washo response.

In the interests of brevity and clarity of argument I shall not attempt to reconstruct the entire process of change as it has taken place since the 1840's, but shall limit the discussion to the immediate question of animal husbandry.

Contemporary Washo

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The Washo today can be viewed as a socially assimilated people. That is, the Washo have not developed institutions within their own society in response to the changes brought about by white occupancy of their territory. Law enforcement is carried out by the county officials in the counties where the Washo reside, and offenders are tried in local and state courts (although, in theory, crimes committed in the Dresslerville community should be dealt with by the Federal Government). Education for Washo children is provided by local schools in Nevada and California. Old age and blindness pensions are paid by the states involved, and, in fact, the choice of a homesite often

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WASHO SOURCES

by Warren L. d'Azevedo and John A. Price

Two major objectives have guided the preparation of this bibliography: (1) systematization of the sources of information concerning a little known group of the western Great Basin, and (2) demonstration of the value of intensive bibliographic research in disclosing the wide range of written comment and data that frequently remains unexamined in the course of standard ethnographic work. Though this bibliography can make no claim to exhaustive coverage, it does represent the product of a number of years of consistent interest in a specific people, and will prove to be a research aid of considerable utility for those conducting anthropological investigation in the area.

No attempt has been made to present complete annotation for all entries, or to evaluate them according to a scale of worth. When a work is sufficiently well known, or a title provides adequate description of content, editorial comment has not been added. This is also true of a number of entries included for the general background they afford regarding history and characteristics of the region the Washo have inhabited. Whenever the Washo have been referred to in significant context, however, note is made of this fact. Much of the annotation reflects the specialized interests of the compilers insofar as the material has been collected in connection with particular research projects over a period of time. For this reason, even the more lengthy and detailed descriptions can do no more than suggest the full value of the respective works as sources of data for other students.

The bibliography has been organized into five categories. The section entitled Anthropology contains sources that provide data concerning the ethnology, language, archeology, and anthropometry of the Washo. A following section of Unpublished materials has been included as a convenient guide to manuscripts, field notes and collections. The section on History comprises works in which the Washo are discussed in the context of early historical relations of the region or which offer evidence pertinent to a definition of their changing social milieu. The entries under Ecology have been found to be the most useful references on the physiographic and biological aspects of the area. The final section of General materials includes a wide variety of works concerning peoples adjacent to the Washo, or works that are especially significant for comparative purposes. Also included are a number of entries that were not appropriate to any of the other categories, but contain material of peripheral interest.